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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 55-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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POLITICS IN AFGHANISTAN

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 PESHAWAR 1195

C O R R E C T E D COPY(TEXT)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, AF
SUBJECT: PROFESSOR MAJROOH BACKS ZAHIR SHAH

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1. SUMMARY: PROFESSOR MAJROOH, RESPECTED DIRECTOR OF THE AFGHAN INFORMATION CENTER (AIC) IN PESHAWAR, CONTRIBUTED A SIGNED ARTICLE, "FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN," IN AIC'S JUNE MONTHLY BULLETIN. MAJROOH ANALYZES THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION. HE CONCLUDES NEITHER A MARXIST GOVERNMENT NOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN KABUL IS POSSIBLE. RATHER, "THE ONLY WORKABLE AND ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR AFGHANISTAN WILL BE THE ONE WHICH HAS ROOTS IN THE PAST AND IS ABLE TO WORK WITH THE NEW CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT SOMEONE LIKE FORMER KING ZAHIR SHAH . . . IS LIKELY TO SUCCEED." END SUMMARY.

2. FULL TEXT FOLLOWS. BEGIN TEXT:
THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN

AT THIS MOMENT WITH THE ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITY INSIDE
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AFGHANISTAN THE FORMATION OF A UNITED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR

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THE RESISTANCE HAS BECOME A VITAL NECESSITY, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE QUESTION OF A FUTURE GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREMATURE. AS THE PROBLEM IS INCREASINGLY DISCUSSED AMONG THE AFGHAN REFUGEES, FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND WESTERN FRIENDS OF THE AFGHAN CAUSE, PARTICIPATION IN THE DISCUSSION WILL NOT BE ENTIRELY, WE HOPE, A FUTILE EXERCISE.

IT IS GENERALLY AND TO SOME EXTENT RIGHTLY BELIEVED THAT SINCE THE MARXIST COUP OF APRIL 1978, MUCH HAS CHANGED IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT IF THE COMMUNIST REGIME FAILED, A SIMPLE RESTORATION OF THE STATUS QUO ANTE WILL NOT WORK EITHER; CONSEQUENTLY ANY POLITICAL SET-UP FOR THE FUTURE WILL HAVE TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE NEW POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

IT IS TRUE THAT AFGHANISTAN IS NOT THE SAME AND WILL NEVER BE THE SAME AGAIN, BUT WHAT ARE THE CHANGES AND TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THEY CREATED A NEW SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION? HERE ARE SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THIS QUESTION.

THE NEW SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION

ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCENE MAJOR NEW FACTS TO BE MENTIONED ARE:

THE DISPLACEMENT OF ALMOST HALF OF THE COUNTRY'S POPULATION. OVER FIVE MILLION HAVE BECOME REFUGEES IN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, THE LARGEST REFUGEE POPULATION IN THE WORLD; SOME THREE MILLION ARE DISPLACED INSIDE THE COUNTRY, FROM ONE RURAL AREA TO ANOTHER. AS A RESULT IT HAS SERIOUSLY DESTABILISED THE CENTURIES OLD SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE RURAL ECONOMY. AS AFGHANISTAN IS MAINLY
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A RURAL SOCIETY BASED ON AN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY, AND AS THE MUJAHIDEEN ARE ALSO COMING FROM THE RURAL POPULATION, IN ORDER TO UPROOT THE RESISTANCE, THE RUSSIANS DELIBERATE AIM HAS BEEN TO DESTROY THE ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. IN THIS MANNER THE ENEMY WISHES TO PUT AN END TO THE SEMI-SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE RURAL POPULATION AND MAKE THEM DEPENDENT ON THE KABUL GOVERNMENT'S DECISIONS.

ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SCENE THREE NEW FIGURES HAVE EMERGED: MUJAHID OP FREEDOM FIGHTER, RESISTANCE COMMANDER AND LEADER

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OF A POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

THE FIRST TWO WHO WERE SIMPLY FARMERS OR PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS OR PRIESTS OF A MOSQUE, BEFORE THE WAR, HAVE BECOME SOCIALLY INFLUENTIAL AND IN SOME PLACES HAVE REPLACED THE ELDERS AND TRADITIONAL LOCAL CHIEFS. AMONG THE COMMANDERS A FEW WERE ABLE TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE TO WHOLE PROVINCES AND HAVE BECOME ACTUAL MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS INSIDE THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER THE TRADITIONAL CHIEFS AND TRIBAL ELDERS HAVE NOT ENTIRELY LOST THEIR PRESTIGE. NEITHER INSIDE NOR AMONG THE REFUGEES. IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS PEOPLE LIVE TOGETHER ON A TRIBAL AND LOCAL BASIS, STICKING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE. UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE ELDERS. EVEN RESISTANCE FIGHTERS AND COMMANDERS - WHO BELONG TO THE SAME SOCIAL STRUCTURE - RESPECT THEIR ELDERS AND FOLLOW THEIR GUIDANCE.

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THE THIRD CATEGORY, THE LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS,
INCLUDE TWO OPPOSITE TYPES:

- THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS LEADERS - WELL-KNOWN RELIGIOUS SCHOLARS, SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF THE SUFI BROTHERHOOD, WHO, BEFORE THE WAR, WERE NEVER INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL, CIVIL OR MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY, HAVE BECOME POLITICAL WITH STRONG AMBITIONS TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN.
- THE REVOLUTIONARY ISLAMIC LEADERS. THEY ARE YOUNG AND ENTIRELY NEW ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SCENE. THEY REPRESENT THE POLITICAL TREND OF ISLAM, HAVE GAINED INFLUENCE ONLY DURING THE WAR AND HAVE PRECISE IDEAS ABOUT A REVOLUTIONARY ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT FOR THE FUTURE.

THE OLD MAGIC CHARM

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HOWEVER, ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES SINCE THE COMMUNIST COUP OF 1978 IS THAT THE MAGICAL CHARM WHICH KEPT THE POPULATION RESPECTING THE CENTRAL STATE AUTHORITY, HAS BEEN BROKEN. THERE WERE MANY CASES OF TRIBAL AND LOCAL INSURGENCIES IN THE MODERN HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN, BUT NONE WAS AGAINST THE CENTRAL REGIME AS SUCH. USUALLY THE UPRISINGS WERE PROVOKED BY THE ACTION OF AN UNWISE OR CORRUPT LOCAL OR PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR, OR THE UNPOPULAR MEASURES OF A PRIME MINISTER. THE INSURGENTS CONSIDERED THEMSELVES AS UNLAWFUL AND FELT GUILTY, BUT HAD NO OTHER CHOICE TO MAKE THEIR VOICE HEARD BY THE KING. THE BEST EXAMPLE OF THIS MAGICAL CHARM WAS THE LOYALTY OF THE PEOPLE TO PRINCE DAQUD AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. DESPITE THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT DAQUD CAME TO POWER WITH THE HELP OF PRO-SOVIET COMMUNIST ARMY OFFICERS, THAT COMMUNISTS WERE PRESENT IN HIS GOVERNMENT AND WERE MASSIVELY INFILTRATING THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATIONS, THE PEOPLE DID NOT MOVE. THIS WAS SIMPLY BECAUSE DAQUD WAS A COUSIN OF THE KING, HAD BEEN PRIME MINISTER OF THE MONARCHY FROM 1953 TO 1960 AND HAD THE REPUTATION OF BEING A GOOD MUSLIM AND STRONG PATRIOT. IT WAS UNIMPORTANT TO THE PEOPLE WHETHER HE CALLED HIMSELF KING OR PRESIDENT. HE WAS THE LEGITIMATE HEIR. ATTEMPTS BY SOME ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS TO MOBILISE THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (BETWEEN 1973-1978) FAILED. PEOPLE DID NOT COOPERATE AND EVEN HELPED THE AFGHAN ARMY NEUTRALISE THE INSURGENCY MOVEMENTS. THE MAGICAL CHARM OF THE CENTRAL LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY WAS AT WORK:

THERE WERE ONLY TWO EXCEPTIONS: WHEN SHAH SHUJA THE DURANI KING CAME TO POWER FOR A SECOND TIME (1839-1842), BUT WITH THE HELP OF BRITISH ARMY, THE PEOPLE ROSE UP: THE KING WAS DETHRONED AND KILLED. (RABRAK KARMAL WHO WAS INSTALLED IN POWER IN 1980

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BY THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES WAS COMPARED TO SHAH SHUJA). THE SECOND CASE IS KING AMANULLAH (1919-1929), WHO DISCREDITED HIMSELF IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE BY HIS NAIVE ANTI-TRADITION AND ANTI-ISLAMIC POLICIES. HE FLED TO ROM. HAFIZULLAH KALILAH (KNOWN AS THE SON OF THE WATER BEARER), THE POPULAR LEADER OF THE REBELLION, PROCLAIMED HIMSELF KING IN KABUL BUT BECAUSE OF HIS LACK OF LEGITIMACY, HE DID NOT LAST MORE THAN NINE MONTHS. NAQIB SHAH, THE FATHER OF KING ZAHIR SHAH, A MORE LEGITIMATE PRINCE WAS HELPED BY THE PEOPLE POWER.

BUT WHEN IN APRIL 1978 THE COMMUNISTS SEIZED POWER THROUGH A

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BLOODY MILITARY COUP D ETAT, THE AGE-OLD MAGICAL CHARM WAS DEFINITELY BROKEN. REBELLION AGAINST THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY CONSIDERED AS UNLAWFUL, WAS JUSTIFIED, DISOBEDIENCE BECAME LAWFUL, FIGHTING THE COMMUNISTS A RELIGIOUS AND NATIONAL DUTY.

PARADOXICALLY, THE SAME FACTOR - NAMELY THE OLD MAGICAL CHARM OF THE RESPECT OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY BROKEN - WHICH HAS PREVENTED THE KADUL MARXIST REGIME FROM ESTABLISHING ITS AUTHORITY OVER THE COUNTRY, IS ALSO WORKING AGAINST THE RESISTANCE POLITICAL LEADERS. THE LATTER ARE WELL RESPECTED AS PERSONS, AND ALSO FOR THEIR ROLE IN THE JIHAD. THEY ARE ALSO EXPECTED TO HAVE A ROLE IN THE FUTURE POLITICAL SOLUTION, BUT NONE OF THEM IS CONSIDERED AS A LEGITIMATE NATIONAL LEADER ABLE TO RE-ESTABLISH THE RESPECT FOR A CENTRAL AUTHORITY. ANYONE OF THEM COMING TO POWER WILL BE CHALLENGED AND OTHER MUJAHIDEEN GROUPS WILL FIND ENOUGH JUSTIFICATION TO FIGHT AGAINST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

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CONCLUSION:

POSSIBLE LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE ABOVE DISCUSSION WILL BE:

- A MARXIST REGIME, ESPECIALLY ONE IMPOSED BY THE INVADING FORCES OF A FOREIGN POWER, DID NOT WORK AND WILL NEVER WORK. THIS SOLUTION IS OUT AND ALSO A COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS IS EXCLUDED FOR THE FUTURE. THE RUSSIANS HAVE LEARNED THIS LESSON, BUT DO NOT KNOW HOW TO FIND A FACE-SAVING EXIT.

- THE ONLY WORKABLE AND ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR AFGHANISTAN WILL BE THE ONE WHICH HAS ROOTS IN THE PAST AND IS ABLE TO WORK WITH THE NEW CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT. A MAN HAVING THE AURA OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY & MAGICAL CHARM AROUND HIS PERSON - SOMEONE LIKE FORMER KING ZAHIR SHAH - NOT ATTEMPTING TO RESTORE THE OLD FAMILY RULE BUT WORKING WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW TEAM, IS LIKELY TO SUCCEED. IN THE
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FORMATION OF SUCH A TEAM TWO ASPECTS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION: ONE IS POLITICAL AND THE OTHER IS TECHNICAL.

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POLITICALLY, SOME LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND SOME OUTSTANDING RESISTANCE COMMANDERS HAVE TO BE INVOLVED. TECHNICALLY, AS THE FUTURE FREE COUNTRY WILL BE FACING THE HUGE TASK, AND MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL, OF RECONSTRUCTION - RE-SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPLACED POPULATION, RE-BUILDING OF THE ECONOMY, ADMINISTRATION, EDUCATION, ETC - A LARGE NUMBER OF NON-POLITICAL EXPERTS AND TECHOCRATS MUST BE INCLUDED. IN THIS MANNER ALONE, WE BELIEVE, A PEACEFUL, UNITED AND FREE AFGHANISTAN WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO START LIVING AGAIN. WITH THE HELP OF GOD.
SAYD B. MAJROOH
END TEXT

3. COMMENT: MAJROOH'S INFORMED SUPPORT FOR "SOMEONE LIKE FORMER KING ZAMIR SHAH" IS SURE TO CATCH THE ATTENTION OF THE AFGHAN INTELLIGENTSIA AND PARTIES IN PAKISTAN, ADDING MORE FUEL TO THE FIERY DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE ROLE, IF ANY, FOR THE FORMER KING IN A POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR AFGHANISTAN. END COMMENT.

4. KABUL AND MOSCOW MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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